

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"This Bill (Mr. Peel's) was grounded on concurrent Reports of both Houses; it was passed by unanimous votes of both Houses; it was, at the close of the Session, a subject of high eulogium in the Speaker's Speech to the Regent, and in the Regent's Speech to the two Houses: now, then, I, William Cobbett, assert, that, to carry this Bill into effect is impossible; and I say, that, if this Bill be carried into full effect, I will give Castlereagh leave to lay me on a Gridiron and broil me alive, while Sidmouth may stir the coals, and Canning stand by and laugh at my groans."—Taken from Cobbett's Register, written at North Hempstead, Long Island, on the 24th of September, 1819; and published in England in November, 1819.

PEEL's Bill, together with the laws about Small Notes, which last were in force when Peel's Bill was passed: these laws, all taken together, if they had gone into effect, would have put an end to all Small Notes on the first day of May 1823: but, to prevent this blowing up of the whole of the Funding System, an Act was passed, in the month of July, 1822, to prevent these laws, and especially that part of Peel's Bill which put an end to Small Bank of England Notes, from going into full effect!—Thus the System received a respite; but, thus did the Parliament fulfil the above Prophecy of September 1819.

TO MONEY-HOARDERS.

Kensington, 5th July, 1825.

THE present is a most critical and important period in the progress of the vile paper-money;

and, there are a multitude of reasons, why all those, who are able to do it, should lay by gold, the good gold coin of the country.

The contents of the last Register were of so much importance to all the industrious and honest part of

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

the country, that I took the liberty to request my readers to *lend* it, and to cause it to be read as generally as possible. For the reason which induced me to make that request, I shall here state, shortly, the facts which that Register contained; and, I shall then give plain directions how those persons, to whom bankers refuse gold, ought to proceed, in order to get it from them, and in order to punish them for their refusing to pay in gold.

There was, on the 27th of June last, a debate in the House of Commons, the occasion of which debate was, that Mr. FREDERICK JONES of Stapleton, near Bristol, had tendered some notes of a bank at Bristol for *payment*. The bankers tendered him *Bank of England* notes, but *refused* to give him *gold*. He had writs issued in order to *arrest* the parties; that is to say, *all the partners* of the bank; but they, finding the writs issued, sent to Mr. JONES's attorney in London, and paid to him the amount of the debt *and also the amount of the costs*. Thus, then, this point is legally settled. If any banker refuse to pay his notes in gold, the *moment they are presented*, such banker may be *arrested*; and, if he pay in gold afterwards, *the costs all fall upon*

him. Mr. JONES, having instructed his attorney to arrest these parties, petitioned the House of all Houses to pass a law to enable persons, situated as he was, to have the speedy remedy of *distress* against such bankers. Upon this there arose a debate, and, during that debate, it was clearly acknowledged, that PEEL'S BILL had *not gone into full effect*. It was also fully acknowledged by the Ministers, that Bank of England notes were *not a legal tender*, whether in payment of *other bank notes*, or, in payment of *any debt*. In this debate, Mr. GURNEY (sleek Norwich banker) said, that the currency of the country was in *a less satisfactory state than it had been for a long while*. Mr. ELLICE said the same; and he said, that, if a bad harvest, or war, or any cause of panic came, there must be *total confusion, or a suspension of cash payments*. Mr. BARING said, that *the bank had not gold sufficient to enable the banks to pay in case of a run for gold*. Mr. JOHN SMITH (sleek banker) said, that the *Exchanges were against us*. Mr. MABERLY said, that the *whole* of the circulating medium, in Scotland, was *paper*.

Now, my friends, pray pay attention to all this. Pray con-

sider what a state we are in. Consider how uncertain every thing is, and must be, that is at all connected with this paper-money. The Ministers most solemnly declared, that they *would never return to suspension of cash payments*; but then, as Mr. ELLICE said, they must, in case of a panic, or, in case of the Sow Bank's inability to pay in gold and to supply the Pig Banks with gold to pay in; they must, in such a case, let *total confusion and uproar* come. Besides, pray remember the *former* declarations of these same Ministers. They pledged themselves to *Peel's Bill*, which would have put an end to *all small notes in May 1823*; and, though a hundred fold most solemnly pledged to this, they broke the pledge, and before May 1823 arrived, they passed a law for keeping small notes out for *eleven years longer*. So that you may clearly see what confidence you ought to place in their *declarations and pledges* upon this subject.

And, observe, mark it well; though Messrs. CANNING, HUSKISSON, and PEEL, made this declaration, Mr. ROBINSON *held his tongue*! What! The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, the Finance Minister, the guardian of the nation's money, the Money Mi-

nister, *say not one word* on the subject of a petition like that of Mr. FREDERICK JONES! A namesake, too. Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON, who, last year, told us, that the nation had been made so happy by that *Parliament*, which designing men had so much abused: this Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON, this watchful guardian of the nation's honour as to money matters, *say not a word* upon this occasion; say not a word, even when Mr. GURNEY and Mr. ELLICE said that the currency of the country, that is, the money of the country, was in a *less satisfactory state than it had been for a long while*; and when he heard Mr. BARING say, that, in case of a general demand for gold, *there would not be gold to pay with*! What! I say again; the financier, Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON, remain as dumb as a post when all this was said! What could be his motive for this? Why did he not join Messrs. CANNING, HUSKISSON and PEEL, in their solemn declarations against a return to a suspension of cash payments at the old Sow Bank? Why did he not join in the vow? They almost, in imitation of the Duke of York, swore, "so help them God," that *they never would go back to bank-stoppage*. But, *he*, the Finance

Minister, swore no such thing. He held his tongue; and, if they had held theirs, I should not have thought them the less wise for it.

Thus, then, you see, there is no reliance upon these declarations. If bank-stoppage, like the last, take place, these three *declarers* would easily declare that *circumstances* were altered, and that, "under *existing* circumstances," they agreed to the measure. Pray mind, that they all wish to *check the increase of paper*. They are odd sort of men: pass a law to *cause its increase*; and then want to *check its increase*! Aye; but they want that *the landlords should have 10s. a bushel for their wheat*. This was what they passed the *Small Note Bill* for. But, then, they do not want so much paper as to *drive the gold out of the country*, as the present lot of paper is *doing*. Poor, pretty gentlemen of Whitehall! They must

one or the other: cheap wheat, or an absence of gold. They must take their choice; they cannot have *dear wheat and gold circulation* too. They may have wheat as dear as even landlords: no, not so dear as *landlords* could wish: but, they may have it 15s. 20s. and even 40s. a bushel with bank-stoppage; but, they cannot

keep it long at the present price without bank - stoppage. And why, therefore, do they attempt to make the paper *grow less* by the above declarations, or by any other means?

Mr. CANNING said, that he had *doubts* about the *minor currency*; that is to say, he had doubts, whether it ought to be *tolerated or not*. But, he said, he thought it best to *let it come to an end*, which it *probably would ere long*! By *minor currency*, he means *one pound, two pounds, and thirty shilling notes*. And he thought, that the best way was to let *these come to an end*! And now, see how little this Minister understands of the matter, a matter of such immense importance too. Mr. JOHN SMITH (Carrington) said, that he did not think that the small paper-money could be put an end to *with safety*! So, here are these two capital lawgivers directly opposed to each other. Both cannot be right. One wants to see the small notes *come to an end*, though he has so recently helped to pass an act *for the express purpose of causing them to be issued*; and the other wants the small notes *not to come to an end*; for he does not think that they can come to an end *with safety*.

Aye, and so thinks Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON, I'll warrant him. But, mind, while Mr. CANNING is saying this; while he is expressing his wish to see *small notes come to an end*, he has just assisted to pass *another act*, the obvious tendency of which is to make those small notes *increase* at a great rate: I mean the Act for *establishing a provincial bank in Ireland*. On this subject I must extract a commentary from the *feelosofer* of the Morning Chronicle. "The Bill to empower the establishment of the provincial bank of Ireland, which was introduced by Sir George Hill, the Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, with the sanction and concurrence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having passed both Houses of Parliament, and received the Royal Assent, the Directors are now making arrangements to establish *nine different district banks* in the principal towns of Ireland, and a Select Committee of their body are appointed to proceed forthwith to Ireland to form their Board of Local Directors. Their first establishment will be immediately opened at Cork, and their second at Londonderry; in both of which towns they have the promises of *warm*

co-operation and support from some of the most eminent merchants. Among the numerous plans for promoting the *prosperity of the sister kingdom*, there are none more important than the establishment of these banks, which, from the well known high character of the Directors, offers *undoubted security for the deposit of capital*, and guarantees a *sound and satisfactory circulating medium* to the public, and judging from the great advantages derived by *similar banks in Scotland*, promises also very *beneficial results to the proprietors*."

This is the old slanging humbug, introduced by Pitt, and cherished by his successors. A gain to *both*: the gamesters *win*, and those that play with the gamesters *win too*! These people are going to make and issue *paper-money*. If they win, *somebody must lose*. They create nothing that has value in it. They only cause a transfer of property from those who ought to have to those who ought not to have it. There are, altogether, about fifteen hundred shops for the issue of *paper-money*. These, including all the partners and all their families and dependants and servants, do not make less than *sixty thousand*

people, living in *luxury*. Must not their *gains* come out of the labour and incomes of the nation? And, would it not be better, if these gains remained with the people, and if these paper-money makers were cleaning out drains, cracking stones, or became food for carrion crows?

However, let us put these considerations aside for the present, and see how this Bill, so highly applauded by the *feelosofer*, will work with regard to the *paper and gold*. It will finish the filling of Ireland with paper, and it is nearly full already. I dare say the *feelosofer* is right as to the "*warmth*" of the merchants! Aye, and every body else who *want money*. It would be hard, indeed, if there were not people to be *ready to borrow*. Now, here we are choused again by the use of this Scotch word "*capital*": a deal of "*copital, mon*"! *Undoubted security*, the *feelosofer* says, "*for deposit of copital*." If he had said *gold*, instead of "*copital*"; but, if he had, even children would have laughed in his face. In short, this is a new scheme for the extension of the paper system. It is a monstrous mill for the making and sending forth of small notes, in addition to what are already afloat in Ire-

land, where even the Bank of Ireland has *one pound and thirty shilling* notes; and where that Bank has, I have been told, as much paper out as the great English old Sow Bank herself. And this, the *feelosofer* says, is the best plan for producing "*prosperity in the sister kingdom*"! No doubt, if a man, having nothing but rags to cover him, and knowing not where to look for a dinner, were to find the means of issuing and getting people to take ten thousand pounds from him in promissory notes, he would instantly be in a state of great "*prosperity*," and would, moreover, cause "*prosperity*" amongst those around him. Yet, he could not pay his notes at last. He must be a beggar again; and all around him must be plunged into misery. *Somebody* must, in the end, lose the amount of the notes. And this is what this *feelosofer* has the impudence brazener than brass, or the ignorance greater than any thing that can be conceived, to call "*prosperity*."

Let me now return to wise CANNING and his opinions about the "*minor currency*." The Bank of Ireland, by a *part repeal of Peel's Bill*, puts forth 20s. and 30s. notes, which it could not have done if Peel's Bill had gone into

full effect. The circulating money of all Ireland is, then, principally 20s. and 30s. notes. It is the same in Scotland. It is the same in England, except in and near London. Mr. CANNING wishes these notes to *come to an end*; and, of course, to be *paid off in gold*! Does the wise Minister happen to know of anybody that has got *forty or fifty millions of sovereigns* to lend to the paper people to pay these notes off with? And if he does not know of any such person, or body of persons, does he wish then for a total blowing up of the banks, and uproar and confusion throughout the country? I should like to get an answer from him.

SMITH (Carrington) was right, when he said, that the *small notes could not be put an end to with safety*; that is to say, with *present* safety to the paper system; for, if put an end to, the system would be *instantly blown up*. But, then, the small notes will, with a *little more time*, blow it up. They have, for about seven months, been *sending the gold out of the country*. The drain is very regular: about *a quarter of a million of sovereigns a week*; and it must keep on, unless the paper-money can be *greatly diminished*; and, then, down comes

the *wheat to four or five shillings a bushel*; and back comes that devil that the Ministers dare not face! So that these wise men have this old choice at last; wheat at 4s. a bushel, or bank-restriction and legal tender; that is to say, *assignats* and *two prices*. Mr. CANNING almost swears that he will not have assignats; and I, William Cobbett, almost swear that he will have them. I care not, however, which he has. If he have not assignats, he must give the finish blow to the jolterheads, who scorn "*equitable adjustment*," and who get into *barns* and into *holes and corners* to rail against me; who called *that* a "*breach of national faith*," at the very same time that they applauded the underhand trick to mulct the fundholders by the means of a paper-money. I care not which he has; but I could almost take my oath that he will have *assignats*.

And, if assignats come, how will people then lament, that they did *not get the gold while it was going*! They may now have it if they will. Mr. JONES has made this known to the whole country. The *Jews*, who well understand this matter, get the gold and send it away. The French funds, too, are working our funds, and taking

away the gold at the same time. And, here we have a most curious and deeply interesting affair. The French Government has made the *dividends, or interest, on its stock, payable in London.* Our three per cents now sell at 90*l.* the hundred; so that you get 3*l.* a year for 90*l.* The French three per cents sell here for 76*l.* the hundred; so that, in them, you get 3*l.* a year for 76*l.* Now, if “bank-restriction,” that is, assignats, **SHOULD COME!** Mr. CANNING almost swears that they *shall not come.* But, Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON says nothing; and Mr. ELLICE and Mr. BARING say, that, if there were a general demand for gold, there is *not the gold to answer that demand*; so that, in spite of Mr. CANNING’s almost swearing, bank-restriction, that is, assignats, **MAY COME**; and, I am convinced that they **WILL COME.** Now, if they **SHOULD COME!** Why, then, the hundred of French three per cents will, in all human probability, be worth *twice as much as a hundred of English three per cents*; for, the former will be payable in *gold* and the latter in *paper-money!* The Jews have *long noses*, and, though they are hooked, they smell at a great distance. Therefore, the French stock now

rises in “the market,” while the English *does not rise*; but, on the contrary, is gradually upon the decline. Indeed, if this were not the case, fundholders must be downright idiots.

Let me state this matter clearly. Suppose JEREMIAH BROADBRIM, an English Jew of the buttonless tribe, to have a hundred of English three per cents. These give him a dividend of 3*l.* a year. He can *now* sell them for 90 sovereigns, buy a hundred of French three per cents for 76 sovereigns, which will give the 3*l.* a year dividend, and *put 14 sovereigns into his pocket!* Do you think that there is a Quaker upon earth who will not do this? Here is nearly *five years’ interest* received *before-hand!* Five years’ interest in Jerry’s pocket. Who would venture an even bet, that we shall be *five years* without a blowing up of some sort or other? And here is *positive certainty* for five years. Assignats, or what not, nothing can take these clear 14 sovereigns out of Jerry’s pocket. The French will have *no bank-restriction.* Mr. CANNING almost swears, that we *shall not*, and Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON does not say we *shall*; but, the French *cannot*; for they have no paper-money. They have wheat at 4*s.* a bushel, and

they have a *currency of gold and silver*. They have a solid and *real* money. Mr. JONES could have *arrested* no banker in France. They cannot have a bank-restriction, assignats and two prices. So, here, Jerry Broadbrim, the English Jew, gets 14 gold sovereigns into his pocket, receives the same amount of interest that he received before, and obtains better security for the principal. Jerry will, therefore, sell out of the English funds and buy into the French; and he will, if he can, persuade his neighbours not to do the like, unless he mean to sell again, when the French funds have risen higher; and by that means clap another ten sovereigns into his pocket; and then, when bank-restriction comes (if it come) pay a present debt of eighty or a hundred pounds with legal-tender paper, which he may probably buy with his twenty-four sovereigns; thus, with his 90*l.* of English stock, paying off eighty or a hundred pounds of debt, and still having the 76 sovereigns, which he now pays for his hundred of French stock!

The main part of the real fundholders are a *blind* race; but, not quite so blind as not to see *this*. We shall, therefore, I dare say, see the French stock *rise* and the

English *decline*. As to *war*, it would not shake the French at all. Their debt is so small. The dividends would be paid in London, during the war, just as those of America were, during our last war with her. The French Government does not make a *swagger* about its prosperity, in the midst of a starving people: it does not *swagger* about prosperity, as our people do, while the account of the poor-rates, laid before Parliament itself, proves that pauperism and misery are monstrously on the increase even in England, without mentioning the beggary in Ireland, which can receive no increase at all. According to the Report recently laid before the House of Commons, there is an account of the total amount of the poor-rates for a year during three periods of three years in each period. The account takes three years together, and divides them by three. It embraces twelve years altogether, and ends at Easter 1824. We are to take the value of money as *proved by the price of the quarter of wheat*; so that a hundred pounds expended upon the poor when wheat was eight shillings a bushel only proves the existence of as much pauperism as fifty pounds proves the existence of when wheat was at

four shillings the bushel. During the first of the following periods, wheat was, on an average, a hundred shillings a quarter; during the last period, it was only fifty shillings a quarter; therefore, if there had been no more pauperism in the latter period than in the former period, the sum expended on the paupers ought to have been only half as much as it was in the first period. But, on the contrary, the last will be found nearly equal to the first in nominal

amount; so that, here we have the best possible proof that can possibly be produced, that, only in twelve years, the pauperism and misery of the labouring people of England have been *doubled in magnitude!* And yet JOHN SMITH (CARRINGTON) does not like the Petition of Mr. JONES, because the country is in a state of great prosperity. Let me now insert the Table, containing the figures exhibited in the Report.

Periods.	Expenditure per annum.	Average price of Wheat per qr. during the period.
1st period - -	£.6,123,178 - -	£.4 19 1
2d - - - - -	6,844,290 - - -	3 19 11
3d - - - - -	7,273,535 - - -	3 11 6
4th - - - - -	5,955,292 - - -	2 10 6

This would have served Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON and SMITH CARRINGTON, of Nottingham and elsewhere, who so severely reprimanded the Men of Kent for their Petition, this would have served them as an excellent illustration of their bold assertions about the prosperity of the country; unless, indeed, by the country, they mean bankers and others who live upon the country and its labour. You will see, my friends the Money-hoarders, that the expenditure of the first period, taken in proportion with the fourth period, should have been 3,120,812*l.*; taken in

proportion of the second period, it should have been 4,324,963*l.*; taken in proportion of the third period, it should have been 5,137,251*l.*; whereas you will observe that it exceeds all these; the first by 2,600,000*l.* the second by 1,600,000*l.* and the last by 800,000*l.*; but, above all, observe, that, if taken in proportion with the last period, the first period ought to have been 11,684,558*l.* In other words, if there had been the same quantity of pauperism existing at Easter 1812, as there was existing at Easter 1824, the year's poor-rates for the year

1812 would have amounted to 11,684,558*l.*, instead of amounting, as they did, to 6,123,178*l.* So that, according to their *own showing* (a showing for which they are fools, by-the-by), they are boasting of the prosperity of the country, while this frightful mass of pauperism has doubled itself in twelve years. According to the newspaper reports, Lord FOLKESTONE mentioned this matter in the House of Commons a few nights ago; but the blunder-headed blackguards of the broad sheet give his Lordship a speech of only *four lines and a half*, upon a subject so important as this. The truth is, that the blunder-headed ruffians know nothing of the matter. They are occupied with Mr. BROUGHAM's London Institution and Dr. BIRKBECK's Theory of the Winds; their brains are muddled by slow juice and brandy, or by gin things; and these, says Mr. BROUGHAM, are the "best possible public instructors;" the best possible feelosofers to echo the prayer of MARTIN LUTHER, as given us by JUNKER, the German Protestant who wrote his life; "Give us, O Lord, plenty of fat beeves, and hogs and sheep, plenty of wine that is good; plenty of beer that is strong; and abundance of wives

"and *few children.*" This is the Scotch prayer; and LUTHER stole it from the old apostate monk, JOHN KNOX, whom the great moralist, Dr. JOHNSON, calls the ruffian of the Reformation. I insert the prayer from memory; but I will give it in the German as well as in the English, one of these days; and, in the meanwhile, I pledge myself for the "abundance of wives and very few children," for which reason it is, I suppose, that the feelosofer of the *Morning Chronicle* calls LUTHER *one of the very best men that ever existed.*

This subject of the poor-rates; this test of the "*prosperity*" of the country, was beneath the notice of these best possible public instructors; and so the feelosofer of the *Morning Chronicle*, who seems extremely angry at my charging him with partiality the other day, gives LORD FOLKESTONE four lines and a half of speech, though upon a subject as important as any that could be brought before the House, but it was a subject in which this feelosofer did not delight. His Lordship uttered truths grating to the ears of the Scotch feelosofers; and, therefore, they gave this misled and duped public no account of them. If this be not partiality, what is partiality? I have] no

scruple to say, that the system of reporting, as now carried on, is a very great curse to the country.

So much, then, for Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON'S boast; for the King's-speech boast; and for all their boastings about the prosperity of the country. If, indeed, you consider nineteen-twentieths of the people (as the Scotch feelosofers do) as mere beasts of draught or of burden, out of whom you are to make as much as you can for Bankers and Jews and Jobbers; if you, like the Scotch feelosofers, HUME and ADAM SMITH, and STEWART in particular, consider the mass of the labouring people as so many slaves, whether they have tin cans tied to their waists or not, as in the country of the Cotton-Lords; if you consider them as so many beasts that are to be sweated in 84 degrees of heat, frozen on the tops of hills, starved in the fields upon cold potatoes, whipped at the tread-wheel, or stifled in dungeons, in order to force out of them, during their unhappy lives, as much as possible to be given to Jews, Jobbers, "*Dead-weight*" people, Placemen, Pensioners, Sinecure-people, men, women, and children; and to be given to the Scotch to make bridges and canals in the Highlands, expressly

to prevent that valuable people from emigrating, and, besides this, to furnish the means of causing the Irish people to emigrate to the wilds of America; if you agree that nineteen-twentieths of the English people ought to be thus treated, and for such purposes, then agree with the Scotch feelosofers, that LORD FOLKESTONE got too much when he got *four lines and a half* from the feelosofers; if you do not think thus, set the reporters down for stupid or lazy fellows, or set this feelosofers down as guilty of the most base partiality.

Again I say, then, so much for their boasting about the prosperity of England. It is impossible that such a state of things should not lead to *convulsion*. It is absolutely impossible. There must be a convulsion of some sort or other to put an end to this state of things; and the longer this state continue, the larger that the mass of paper-money become, the greater and more terrible the convulsion. The system obtained a respite by the Small-note Bill, which partly repealed *Peel's Bill*; but, as I have often said, it was no more than a respite. The law must take its course; the law of necessity will be obeyed, in spite of the promises and vows of Mr.

CANNING ; and, though late, execution will be done.

Now, in France things are wholly different. The labouring classes live hard ; but they always lived hard. They were always a poor-living people, compared with the people of England. That which is misery in one country is not misery in another. The Americans would not live a day upon the fare that the best-fed labourers now in England would look upon as luxury. Still we cannot get rid of our old sayings or old thoughts about English good living. We are compelled to forego it, but we forego it with great discontent. The situation of France is wholly different in this respect. The people are better off there than they have been for ages. Every father of fifty or sixty years of age tells his children how much better off they are than he was when he was of their age. Just the reverse of this is the case in England. Therefore, the French Government is safe. It has wheat at as low price, on an average of years, as at any former period. Wages are higher, on an average, than at any former periods. If the working people get little meat now, they formerly got none. Here they always had an abundance of it, and now it scarcely

ever meets their lips. Therefore it is that the French Government is strong and rich, and its people happy ; therefore it is that the French (as I said they would) keep possession of the fortresses of Spain for an indefinite period, not only without the assent, but in contempt of England ; and nothing in this world can be more illustrative of our fallen state, than the acknowledgment of Mr. CANNING, the other night, that he understood that the French meant to keep possession of Spain as long as they pleased.

But, the great security with respect to the funds of France consists in the smallness of its debt, and in the stability and solidity of its currency. It is a country of gold and silver money ; and our paper is daily augmenting the quantity of its coin. In 1819, CASTLE-REAGH, who cut his own throat at North Cray in Kent, said, in his place in the big House, that of six millions of sovereigns that had been coined at the Mint in London, five millions and a half had gone off to be melted down and coined into Louis d'Or at Paris. Just the same thing is going on now ; and go on it must, unless the paper be drawn in so as to bring down the price of wheat to 4s. or 5s. a bushel ; and how is it

to be drawn in? How are all Scotland and all Ireland and all England to pay off their one pound and their thirty shilling notes? They cannot pay them off without gold to pay them off with; and, therefore, well may SMITH CARRINGTON say that they cannot be put an end to *with safety*; though the wise Mr. CANNING expresses a wish to *see them come to an end*.

France, again I say, has little debt and no paper-money. She cannot have bank-restriction, if she would; and, we may have bank-restriction; and it may come upon us like a thief in the night. The Parliament being prorogued, or even dissolved, is nothing. bank-restriction came before by an Order in Council and by Bills of Indemnity; the same may come again. It may come all of a moment; and much more likely to come when the Parliament is not sitting than when it is. The best public instructor, which that spirited, that enlightened, that intelligent, that extraordinarily prudent gentleman, Mr. DENISON, Member for Surrey, has the manliness to call the "*omnipotent public press*;" that "*best possible public and omnipotent instructor*;" would applaud the Ministers to the skies for issuing such Order

in Council, and would swear till its blackguard self were black in the face, that the issuing of such Order was the exercising of a "*sound discretion*;" that is to say, doing just what you please if you have the power to do it. Having this many-mouthed and bawling blackguard on their side, what would the Ministers have to fear? Having the landlords too, and the farmers, and every creature who owes a penny to every other creature. Having every body with them that keeps a bill book; every thing that lives along by gambling and trick; having all the pickpockets, not a small corporation, who can finger a pocket book more conveniently than a purse; having all the bankers, all the merchants; and even all the fundholders and "*dead-weight*," who, though they hate high prices, love the paper that causes the high prices, feeling, somehow or another, that gold would be their total ruin: having all these on their side, why should they not issue an Order in Council, as PITT did, "**UPON THEIR RESPONSIBILITY:**" their responsibility to the people, through their true and real and fairly-chosen *representatives* in Parliament assembled? What difficulty in [the

way of such Order in Council! Kissing your hand to an ugly woman would be ten times more disagreeable, and would go a thousand times more against the grain.

Well, then, I say, this Order in Council *may* come. And is it not time, then, to begin to think about laying by a few sovereigns while they are going? Mr. HUSKISSON said, the other day, he frankly confessed it, that a bad harvest might produce a *disturbance in our currency*. This he distinctly said. What does the worthy and *liberal* statesman mean by "disturbance in our currency"? Why, he means bank-restriction, to be sure. He can mean nothing else. He means bank-restriction and legal tender; and paying of the dividends not convertible into gold! This is what he means; and the French, observe, let their harvest be what it may, are liable to no such *disturbance* in their currency. Our currency depends then, even according to this Trade-Minister's view of the subject, upon the nature of the harvest; and, we all know that the nature of the harvest depends upon the *weather*. We all know, also, that the weather depends upon the *winds*. So that, *our currency depends upon the winds*; and

herein we at last discover the reason why Doctor BIRKBECK has taken such pains to teach the mechanics of London, the "theory of the winds." If the Doctor can only tell us what quarter the wind will come from for the next six weeks, dating from this day, I will tell him what sort of weather we shall have, and what sort of harvest; so that, between us, Mr. HUSKISSON will know six weeks beforehand, whether there will be a disturbance in our currency or not, which would, I take it, be a very valuable piece of intelligence to that liberal and surprising Minister of Trade, who has already abandoned nine-tenths of the liberal measure that he proposed, and that he represented as necessary to the "growing prosperity of the country."

France will be wholly unaffected by the nature of the harvest, as far as relates to her currency and her debt and her dividends. She has not a money that depends on the winds. She has gold and silver to pay her dividends with. She pays in wheat at 4s. a bushel. We even now pay in wheat at nine shillings a bushel; and, by that same sale of her stock of which I was speaking above, she is daily drawing from us the means of returning to gold

payments. Every hundred of French three per cent. stock, which is now sold in London, sends seventy-six pounds of English money to France; and that money now goes in gold coin. Every day her stock becomes more really valuable, and that, too, by the very same operation, which renders our stock every day less really valuable.

Now, Money-hoarders, is there any time for you to lose? Mr. JONES has shown you, that you can carry in the rags and get the gold for them if you will. The people in general did not understand this before. Thanks to this public-spirited gentleman, every thing worthy of the name of man now understands it, in spite of the suffocating efforts of the broad-sheeted brotherhood of *best and omnipotent public instructors*. Thanks to Mr. JONES, and also to Mr. HUME, every thing above a beast now understands this matter. Get more gold, then. Live upon little. Put some gold by; and laugh at the cawings of the rag-rookery.

These are glorious times for *farmers*. This, if they have only common sense, is the time for them to feather their nests. The blaspheming Jews and Jobbers almost pinched them to death in

1822. The poor fellows looked as if their hands and feet were crammed into a vice, of which the Jews were twisting up the bolt. They have now got out of the vice. The round-eyed, hook-nosed, smoky-skinned, and blaspheming tribe are now pinched in their turn. The bushel of wheat which they were compelled to give to this horrid crew for 4s. they now make them give 9s. for. Their rents, which were lowered in consequence of the low prices, have not been raised in any thing like proportion to the rise in the price of corn and meat. NOW, now, therefore, is your time, farmers: sell your produce for the rags, turn the rags instantly into gold, lay not the gold out in fineries. Put it by until wheat come to 4s. a bushel, or, which is the same thing to you, until you can buy fifty or sixty shillings-worth of paper for a sovereign; and then not a few of you will be able to buy the farms that you rent. Think of this, farmers. Dress not yourselves up in Yeomanry Cavalry gear; drink none of their wine at market. Let others have the commodos and settees and forte pianos; and let the fox-hunters be anybody but you and your sons. No topped boots and buckskin breeches and

gay horses. Jog to market on the old mare with foal by her side. Carry a bit of bread and cheese in your pocket. Get a pint of nice mild ale to wash it down. Stay long enough just to "watch the turn of the market"; shake one another by the hand, and beg to be remembered to one another's wives. Then throw the bridle over the old mare's neck, and let her go home as fast as she likes. Off with the Sunday coat and hat, after you have turned the mare and colt into the orchard, and out into the field for fear that the mowers and reapers and carters should kill themselves at work. Now mind this last: apply part of the savings at the market to the making of plenty of good beer; and, when you go out into the field, take, in each hand, a gallon of that beer.

Farmers, follow this my advice. You will have more paper-money than you will want to pay away in a very short time. Pay your landlord in paper-money. Pay everybody in paper-money that will take it. But, that which you have to *keep*, keep in gold, in sovereigns of full weight; and, in spite of the lying and base country newspapers, which are generally linked in with the rag-rooks, there is not one sovereign in 50,000

that is not of full weight. It will be your interest to keep the paper-money going as long as possible; and especially in your own neighbourhood. So that, you ought not to decry it. You ought not to tell people what you think about it; and when you get the gold, it may be prudent to get it from some banker at a little distance from home. Farmer Gripum, who may live at Chippenham, for instance, may put his son upon the outside of a coach, and let him drop in for the gold at Marlbro.' There will be no danger; and it may, now and then, be very advantageous to you even to get discount from your neighbouring rag-rook. If he refuse you, get a parcel of his notes together, and punish him by making him pay them in gold. Half a dozen farmers might, if they found it prudent, get discounts from a rag-rook, and take all the notes in the next day and get gold for them. Thus you would become the masters of these fellows in place of their being your masters as they are now. A great part of the rooks are attorneys. If any one of them pester you in his legal capacity, it will be easy for you to take vengeance by making a push on him for gold. Get twenty sovereigns from him to begin with,

or even ten. Pay your men in them. That will soon bring you in, from the miller and the butcher, a good lot of his notes. Borrow some of his notes from your neighbours and relatives only for half a day: take your old mare and jog across to his shop; and, as you trot back again, you will be so delighted with the chink of the sovereigns. If he refuse you payment in gold, go to his brother attorney, who is not a banker, and he will have him *arrested* in forty-eight hours, and make him pay the gold and the costs into the bargain; and he, mind you, knows how to make out a bill of costs.

Farmers, do not let your landlords know that you have got a hoard of gold. They have very keen noses. As keen as the nose of a pig, and he can ascertain, through the double coat of a walnut, whether there be a kernel on the inside or not. Do not brag as you used to do. Do not pretend to be gentlemen. Do not offend the lords and squires by riding better horses than they. If Mr. PEEL will insist upon your coming out in the yeomanry cavalry, for God's sake do not dress fine and wear long cock's-tail feathers and long spurs. Take an old rip of a horse, worth 40 shillings; and, when you go home,

laugh at the cunning ones who have got you out to preserve the "*peace of the country*;" and to *perpetuate the payment of tithes!* Look at your growing heap of sovereigns; and then look out of your window and say, all this land and all these trees will be mine.

This advice applies equally well to tradesmen of all descriptions. Now is their time for laying by some gold. They have not, indeed, the same advantage that the farmers have; but, in most cases, they may save a little *if they try*. They have the greatest facility in the world of turning paper into gold. Ten or a dozen of them can shut up the banker attorney whenever they like. They must have an eye to the 'squire or parson; or they might, perhaps, lose their custom. When they can do it with safety, the mode of proceeding is the easiest imaginable. You have a parcel of notes. You go to the banker that issues them. No matter whether he be at home himself or not. The man or boy usually behind the counter is all that you want. You lay down your notes, and he, with a civil sort of smirk, asks you whether you want *fresh notes*; or, if it be a five, ten, twenty or forty pound note, he asks you whether you will have it in ones or twos, or

what you wish. Your answer is, "I tender your notes for payment. Pay me the amount of them in the legal coin of the kingdom." If he do not give you gold for any note above a one-pound note; or do not give you silver for a one pound note, proceed against him. The law is this, that silver to the amount of 20 shillings is a legal tender; but, if the note be for more than twenty shillings, the rook can make you take no more than 20 shillings in silver. He must give you the rest in gold. If you tender several one pound notes at the same time, the law will, perhaps, permit him to pay every one of them in silver, but, if there be any note for more than one pound, he must pay a part of that note in gold; else the tender is not a legal tender. Why, therefore, should there be any *want of change* in a country town? If you have a one pound note issued in that town, you have only to go and get the twenty shillings for it or a sovereign; and that shall be better than a rag, which will burn or lose in a minute; or which a goat will pull out of your hand and swallow, as was the case some years ago with a barbarous ruffian who seized hold of the poor goat, instantly cut her throat open, and found the mashed paper in her maw. I

read this in an English newspaper when I was in Long Island, and, though the name and place were in print, my American neighbours could hardly believe that Old England, that their forefathers came from, could contain such a monster. But the tendency of this paper-system is to harden the heart, to barbarize and brutalize mankind.

The rag-rook, having refused payment in gold or in silver as above. But, mind, you *must take a witness with you* to hear the refusal; and you must leave the note in his possession, or he must make a mark upon it of some kind, so that he can swear to it when he sees it again. If he can write, the best way is for him to take a copy of the whole of the note; the number, signature and every thing. If he cannot write, he may just chalk the number down upon a bit of board; but he must do it at the time; that is to say, at the banker's shop, or just before or just after, you go there with him. Then he may make any sort of mark with a pen and ink upon the note, so that he may be able to swear that that is the same note. I am not sure that all this is absolutely necessary; but it is best to take every probable necessary precaution

Having done this, go to an attorney, state your case to him, and direct him to arrest the banker and all the parties who are mentioned in the note. But, observe, the debt must be a debt of 40s. in order to enable your attorney to arrest the parties. So that, a two pound note, or two one pound notes will be sufficient for the arrest; and to obtain the arrest is the desirable thing; because that brings the debtors in immediate contact with the paws of the sheriff's officer. One of two things will happen: the rook will send to your attorney, and pay in gold and also pay the costs, or he will resist. He will let the action proceed, in which latter case, he is sure to lose, and he is sure to have all the costs to pay. You need employ no counsel. You have nothing to do but to go into the court and tell your own story in about two minutes. Call your witness, put the note into his hand; let him tell his story, and the Judge will tell the Jury what the law is, and they will find a verdict for you. If we were to suppose such a thing possible, as a Jury to decide in the teeth of the law, which is as clear as daylight, their verdict would be set aside; and then their names might all be published, and they

might walk about in the daytime, and sleep at night upon that.

If it be only a single one pound note, your attorney cannot arrest the parties; he cannot cause the sheriff's officer to lay his magnetic paw upon them; but he can drive on the action at law, and make it cost the parties a pretty many pounds. This, labouring men; this, you ill-treated manufacturers; this, you journeymen who combine for a rise of wages in consequence of high prices; this, you radicals, who are not so base as to forget the affair of the 16th of August, and to forget, also, the marching of you into prison at Manchester, and keeping you in prison under the rain, in whole crowds, for no other offence than that of meeting to petition the Parliament; this, if you have one spark of spirit left in you, is the way for you to proceed to obtain, without riot, without combination, without even an angry word with anybody, but lawfully, quietly, and most peacefully, all that you want, and all that you can reasonably demand. Even Mr. CANNING says, that he has doubts about the propriety of suffering this minor currency to exist; and he hints his hopes that it will soon come to an end! I hope so too, with all my heart

and soul; and chiefly because I know it is for your good. For you to join Mr. CANNING, if he stood alone, might be dangerous. You might justly entertain suspicions, but, when you have me along with him, surely you may venture!

I intended to insert in this Register a summary of plain instructions and intelligence upon this subject. To put it over and over again upon separate leaves, that it might be torn off and distributed amongst the friends of my readers; but I have not room for that this week. I will do it in my next Number; and, in the meanwhile, I again take the liberty to request my readers, one and all, to lend this present Register about, as I hope they did the last, and to cause it to be read as extensively as they possibly can.

In conclusion, I beg you, sensible Money - hoarders, to read this whole Register with great attention. Ask yourselves whether this thing can possibly last long. Ask yourselves whether wheat can come again to four shillings a bushel, or whether bank-restriction can come, without some awful convulsion. Think of the declaration of Mr. GURNEY, Mr. ELLICE and Mr. BARING; think of

the silence of Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON, and sleep with a bank note in your house if you can.

WM. COBBETT.

Since writing the above, I have seen the "best public instructor" of this day (5th July) containing the following report from the House of Lords of last night.

COUNTRY BANKS.

"The Earl Grosvenor said he could not allow the Session to close without calling the attention of their Lordships to a subject of great importance—he alluded to the liability of country banks to discount their notes in gold. As the law was at present (we understood the Noble Earl to say) the summary process which formerly might issue against bankers was abolished; and though he knew the subject was one which would create great anxiety, he was not quite convinced that it would not be advisable to pass a short Act of Parliament even during the present Session, restoring the power of proceeding against bankers who issue notes by summary process.

"The Earl of Liverpool said there was but one legal tender in which all persons were bound

"to pay their debts; but the
 "Noble Earl might be assured,
 "*now it was known* that bankers
 "must pay in gold, that not one
 "banker who had any regard to
 "his own credit, but would be
 "ready to do so. He would give
 "*no opinion as to the propriety of*
 "*the short Act alluded to* by the
 "Noble Earl, but it was neces-
 "sary for the credit of every
 "banker, now it was known that
 "such was the law, that he should
 "pay his notes in gold on de-
 "mand.

"Lord Clifden complained of
 "the conduct of the Bank of Ire-
 "land, which paid *in guineas* in-
 "stead of sovereigns, *in order to*
 "*discourage the demand for gold.*
 "The guineas were not current at
 "present, and those who received
 "them were at a loss how to dis-
 "pose of them. He gave the
 "Ministers, particularly Mr. Wal-
 "lace, great credit for their mea-
 "sures to assimilate the currency
 "of England and Ireland, but the
 "Bank of Ireland had endea-
 "voured to oppose these mea-
 "sures, though it had not found
 "one supporter in the House of
 "Commons.

"The Earl of *Liverpool* said,
 "that he was not aware that any
 "obstacle had been thrown in the
 "way of the measures for assimi-

"lating the currency of the Bank
 "of Ireland. Here the subject
 "dropped."

Well, then, Lord GROSVENOR
 did not, as Mr. MABERLY did,
 think Mr. JONES's petition "*dis-*
honest and false." Let us hope
 that we shall see this "*short Bill*"
 yet! Peter MACCULLOCH has
come out; but I have not time to
 notice him here. He screams
 dreadfully for the paper. I will
 make him scream louder next
 week.

MR. LAWLESS'S ADDRESS
 TO THE
 CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

[From "*The Irishman.*"]

Belfast, June 23, 1825.

IT is somewhat remarkable, that
 in all the Catholic Meetings which
 have yet taken place through the
 South of Ireland, there should be so
 little of novelty in the substance or
 form of the resolutions adopted—a
 simple echo merely of the resolu-
 tions, both in terms as well as prin-
 ciple, agreed to by the Aggregate
 Meeting of Dublin, characterizes all
 the resolutions of all the Meetings
 as yet held in the South of Ireland
 —the same timid and cautious silence

on the great question which should now occupy every mind and engage every heart. What that question is, my readers will quickly anticipate; it is nothing more or less than this, Are the Catholics of Ireland again determined to go forward in the ensuing Session of Parliament in their almost threadbare character of *Catholic petitioners*, or are they to break new ground, form a new alliance, assume a new character, and, instead of Catholic Petitioners, *limited* in numbers, and *circumscribed* in political power and importance, make common cause with their Dissenting Brethren of the British Empire, and make the prayer of their common petition Civil and Religious Freedom? Thus bringing to the Catholic standard six millions of Dissenters—interesting every heart and hand in the British Empire that have a common grievance to complain of, and getting rid of all that insidious and cunning machinery with which their progress as Catholic Petitioners was so cruelly embarrassed by their treacherous and affected friends, during the entire of the last Session. It is true, some atonement has been made to the insulted understanding of the people, by the resolution of Mr. Mahon, at the last Aggregate Meeting of Dublin—namely, that nothing less than the *full and unqualified Emancipation* of the Catholic shall ever be the prayer of the Irish nation—a resolution wrung from a reluctant

party, which only surrendered to the remonstrances of such men as Counsellor Coppinger, Messrs. O'Gormans, and Mr. Mahon, because it was well aware the public determination would have forced the recognition of a principle which should never have been abandoned for a moment.

In my last address to my countrymen, I detailed the struggles which were made by the uncompromising advocates of public right at the Corn Exchange, previous to the late Aggregate Meeting; but in that address an omission of the name of a most excellent individual was committed by the oversight of our printer; and it is but discharging a debt of justice to that gentleman's character to rectify our error as quickly as we can, and render him that tribute of our respect which, in common, we believe, with every independent Catholic in Ireland, we sincerely entertain for his pure and unbending public integrity—we allude to Counsellor Coppinger, who was the first in the Corn Exchange to take his stand against the disgraceful conditions on which our cause was pleaded in Parliament. Uninfluenced by old friendships or the dearest connexions, he fearlessly advocated the *pure intelligible principle of full and unqualified Emancipation*, and scouted all *conditions* or terms which went to degrade the Catholic Clergy, or humiliate the Catholic peasant. He would not lend himself to the principle which

would raise the *few* on the ruins of the many; or, in the strong and emphatic language of Mr. Denman, on the debate of the 40s. Freeholders, sacrifice a *whole people to the ambition of a party*. Counsellor Coppinger fought the battle for four successive days in the Corn Exchange, during which some idle, factious experiments were tried in vain. He was well and ably supported by Messrs. O'Gormans and Mahon, and the fruit of their struggles was the restoration of that great principle, without which *Emancipation* would be the *sycophancy* of the Catholic Lord and Catholic commoner—the *prostitution* of the Catholic Clergy, and the *unspeakable degradation* of the Catholic population.

What! would the Opposition in Parliament advocate measures which teemed with such fatal consequences to Ireland—that Opposition which displayed unequalled powers in vindication of Irish feeling!—Certainly not. The most illustrious of the Opposition protested against both the measures which I have so often denounced. They bitterly complained of the injustice under which they suffered, when forced to debate such measures as the *sine qua non* of Emancipation. Messrs. Brougham, Lambton, Denman, Grattan, Hume, Col. Johnston, Mr. Angelo Taylor, Mr. Dennison, Col. Talbot, and many more of the most distinguished friends of the Catholics protested against Mr. Plunkett's *conditional Bills*. How

were these Bills treated in the Lords? They were taken up by the oldest and the most inveterate enemies of Civil and Religious Freedom in that House, and flung in the face of the advocates of Catholics as a *base surrender* of the most valued principles of the Constitution. But the denouncement of these unfortunate measures does not end here. The last Number of *The Edinburgh Review*, the acknowledged organ of the Opposition in Parliament, have consigned the 40s. Freeholders' Bill, and the *Catholic Endowment Bill*, to the vault of all the Capulets. Do I require a greater triumph than this last attestation to the correctness of all the opinions I have maintained for the last four months? The words of *The Edinburgh Review* are as follow; and I request Sir Thomas Esmonde and his friends, with whom I greatly lament I felt it my duty to differ, to treasure up in their memory the sentence I now give; and when the heat of party feeling has cooled down to something like a moderate and reasonable temperature, to acknowledge the magnitude of the error they have committed on this most important question:—

“ An incident of a very unlucky kind marked the progress of the Bill, and arose out of the same circumstances; we mean the connexion of the measure with two others, not necessarily allied to it, and much more likely to divide and even alienate its friends, than to gain any new support. Upon the merits of those projects we shall at present say little :

one is of difficult consideration and of a most unpopular aspect,—the restraint upon leasehold qualifications: the other is perhaps a wise measure, but ought to have followed, and not accompanied, the repeal of those penal laws, the existence of which must ever be an insuperable bar to the Clergy accepting any provision, or keeping any terms, with a Government that oppresses their flocks. The leasehold question seems indeed now at rest, at least as part of the Emancipation; and we fear that it deserves little support upon its own merits,—convinced that the root of the evil is not in the manner of multiplying votes, but in the unfortunate circumstances of the Irish peasantry, a poor, ignorant, and therefore a most dependant body, whom their rich landlords will always make voters in one way or another, as long as the one party is disposed to encourage, and the other to commit, perjury, for electioneering purposes. But, at any rate, both these obnoxious measures are now for ever severed from the general question, and may be regarded as a removal of the old securities so inconsistently required by the enemies of the penal code, and long since exploded from the question. The adoption of those 'wings,' as they were figuratively termed by the Parliamentary friends of the Bill, was expected to secure its quick and easy flight through both Houses of Parliament. But they proved wings of lead; they were laughed at, and indeed vehemently resisted by the intolerant party; they gained, as it was ascertained, not a single vote in the one house, while they lost the support of five or six of the best friends of civil and religious liberty in the other."

And yet with what sickening triumph was I told that *Emancipation was at hand*—that those measures thus reprobated by the best and ablest men in Parliament, and by

one of those able and powerful men in the *The Edinburgh Review*, had disarmed all hostility—conciliated the bigot—soothed the prejudiced—and confirmed the wavering. *The juggle is now over*; the vision which so delighted and captivated the credulous and generous imagination is dissipated—the parties who were the *Dramatis Personæ* of this insulting Parliamentary farce now stand before the country, and the grand and able scene-shifter, William Conyng-ham Plunkett, may retire to his country place, after a triumphant campaign of Parliamentary humbugging and delusion, unparalleled in the records of political fraud. Sir Francis Burdett, an honest man, but unaccountably caught in the same trap—suddenly a convert to the opinions of the Irish Attorney-General, who so often played the political Punch with such exquisite dexterity, that same Sir Francis Burdett, who, but a year before, turned his back with honest indignation on the delusion which was attempted to be practised on him, was himself seen circulating in the same whirlpool with the credulous and kind thinking Deputation of the Catholics from Ireland. But Sir Francis Burdett has, it would appear, cast the scales from his eyes; he, too, seems to be roused from his visionary dreams; he, too, begins to think that the last four months was a solemn farce, and that in future, there is no hope for Ireland but through the medium of

Reform. Look at his words at the late dinner in commemoration of Middlesex independence.

"The Hon. Baronet noticed the unpopularity of the grant to the Duke of Cumberland, and the disgraceful pretence under which it was proposed, and observed that this vote proved that there is no sympathy between the electors and the elected, which brought him back to his text, that there could be no religious liberty—no commercial freedom—no security for the pure administration of justice—no protection for private rights, until the great measure of Parliamentary Reform was accomplished. (*Cheers.*) And he would implore the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland, laying aside all national jealousies as far as may be, making all due allowance for the peculiarities of each, not denying the virtues or exaggerating the defects which each possesses; but, above all things, discarding from their minds every feeling of distinction founded upon religious opinions, and to join heart and hand in the attainment of a full, and free, and impartial representation of the people. (*Loud cheers.*) In that measure would be found Catholic Emancipation; in that would be found what was refused the Unitarians the other night by the Bishops, namely, the simple privilege of celebrating their marriage ceremonies according to the rights of their own religion."

When I saw this passage, I immediately saw that Sir Francis Burdett would be no longer the dupe of Mr. Plunkett, and that *through Reform alone* he could reasonably flatter Ireland with the hope of freedom.

What, then, should be the future course which the Catholics of Ireland ought to take when such scenes have been acted as the nation has wit-

nessed? What should they do when a Ministry exist composed of elements only calculated to delude and insult the understanding and pride of Ireland? Do they not see that what is absurdly called the liberal part of the Cabinet will never advocate their cause unless on the base conditions now universally denounced? If so, from what quarter in Parliament can justice be expected? I answer—*Not from any party in Parliament*—the hope of justice to Ireland can be only obtained from two plain and distinct causes. The first is, *that cause which has been invariably the best friend of the Irish people, I mean the overwhelming necessities of the British empire.* A new war, I don't care from what quarter the first trumpet is blown, would be the almost certain signal of Irish freedom.

Then the hypocrite Minister would be seen giving way to the Minister of common sense, and such wise heads as a Bishop Magee, and the Rev. Mr. Phelan, and the Rev. Mr. Holt Warren, might amuse themselves about auricular confession, and St. Michael, and St. John, and the Pope; but such nonsense from such desperate bigots would not then *dare* to occupy the attention of the Cabinet. No, no; the *cry to arms* against the common enemy would be the Ministerial duty, and the *conciliation* of the brave and vigorous hearts which constitute the population of Ireland would be *described on the banners of that very*

recruiting party which the Marquis of Anglesea would now (if the Reporter be correct) amuse *by cutting the throats of the petitioning people of Ireland*. No; it is not the crooked, serpentine, expedients of such an advocate as the Irish Attorney-General which will ever procure Emancipation. Ours is a question of justice, and no nation will ever yield to its prayer so soon as when flogged into the surrender by the heavy pressure of necessity. This is the first cause. What, then, is the second? Though less powerful, it is to bind up our question of Catholic Emancipation with the *Emancipation of every denomination in the British Empire* to whom civil and religious liberty is denied by the laws. Here would be a ground of strength from which it would be impossible to move the Catholic; he not only would gain in moral, but he would gain in physical, force; twelve millions of British subjects putting up their common prayer *for civil and religious freedom*, would win the hearts of the world—it would call forth the mutual energies of the most gifted and influential portion of the imperial community—it would get rid of all the accursed embarrassments with which the discus-

sion of the Catholic question has been encumbered since 1807—it would strip our petition of its sectarian character, and give us that place in the good will of the Dissenters which would ensure their manly co-operation. I, for one, shall never petition as a Catholic, separated from my Dissenting countrymen. I shall join the latter in their prayer for civil and religious freedom, and thus guard the Catholic people against the weakness or the vice of future intrigue, whether that intrigue be within or without the doors of Parliament.

I have now given my opinion of the course the Catholics ought to take, after the best reflection I could give to so important a subject. I have done that which every Irishman *has a right to do*, and I shall be glad to give an opportunity to the talents of the South, as well as the North, to record their sentiments in the columns of *The Irishman*, whether these sentiments shall or shall not agree with those I have set down in the present Address.

I have the honour to remain,

Your very humble Servant,

JOHN LAWLESS.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending June 25.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	69	5	Oats	24	10
Rye	40	11	Beans ...	59	6
Barley ..	35	1	Peas	38	7

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, June 25.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	6,709 for 24,060	0	10	Average, 71	8		
Barley..	1,730....	3,080	12	9.....	35	7	
Oats... 12,663 ..	16,744	17	10.....	26	5		
Rye	—	—	—	—		
Beans ..	1,856 ...	3,749	5	9.....	40	4	
Peas	280	560	9	0.....	40	0	

Friday, July 1.—The arrivals of English Grain this week are small, but there is a large quantity of Irish Oats. There was scarcely any prime Wheat for sale, and hardly any business was done in the trade at Monday's prices. Barley is unaltered. Beans and Pease fully maintain last quotations. The Oat trade continues dull at the prices last reported.

Monday, July 4.—The arrivals of English Grain last week were moderate, but there was another large quantity of Oats from Ireland. This morning there are a good many samples of Wheat from Essex and Kent, but very little from other parts. Of all other sorts of Grain the supply fresh up is small. The weather continues very favourable, and our Mil-

lers appear disposed to purchase only superfine samples of Wheat, which being scarce, obtain last week's terms; all other sorts may be reported 1s. to 2s. per quarter cheaper, and almost unsaleable.

Barley comes sparingly to market, and sells on the same terms as last quoted. The reports of the coming crops of Beans and Pease continue unfavourable, and more money was asked for each of these articles to-day, but sales could not be made freely, and they may be quoted the same as last week. The large accumulation of Oats from Ireland keeps the trade in very dull state, and last week's prices were with great difficulty obtained for this article. No alteration in the Flour trade; though it may be observed that 65s. is a mere nominal price, a great deal of Flour equal to town made being sold at several shillings less.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	60s. — 65s.
— Seconds	56s. — 60s.
— North Country ..	52s. — 55s.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from June 27 to July 2, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	4,062	Tares	—
Barley ..	464	Linseed ..	—
Malt	2,003	Rapeseed .	—
Oats	24,819	Brank ..	—
Beans ...	1,059	Mustard ..	—
Flour	5,800	Flax	—
Rye	—	Hemp ...	—
Peas	80	Seeds ...	—

Foreign.—Wheat, 435; Oats, 140 qrs. and Flour 100 bushels.

Total Quantity of Corn returned as
Sold in the Maritime Districts, for
the Week ended June 25.

Qrs.	Qrs.
Wheat .. 37,393	Oats ... 28,481
Rye 344	Beans... 3,651
Barley .. 3,679	Peas 318

Price of Hops per Cwt. in the
Borough.

Monday, July 4.—The accounts
continuing to come unfavourable,
there is a great deal doing in the
trade; and prices are full 1*l.* per cwt.
dearer than this day se'nnight; Kent
Pocket up to 13*l.*

Maidstone, July 2.—The accounts
which we have received from all the
Planters during the last week are
much against the Hops, as they say
the vermin increases every day, and
the Bines are turning of different
colours, and in consequence we hear
the Duty is called at about 36,000*l.*

Monday, July 4.—The arrivals
from Ireland last week were 2133
firkins of butter, and 3297 bales
of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports
8437 casks of Butter.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, July 4.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to	5 0
Mutton ...	4	4	—	5 0
Veal	5	0	—	6 0
Pork	5	0	—	6 0
Lamb	5	4	—	6 0

Beasts ... 2,276	Sheep ... 20,570
Calves ... 325	Pigs ... 1100

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 4
Mutton ...	3	8	—	4 8
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	4	0	—	5 8
Lamb	4	0	—	6 0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead):

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 4
Mutton ...	3	8	—	4 6
Veal	3	4	—	5 6
Pork	4	8	—	5 4
Lamb	4	8	—	5 6

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. 'Loaf' is stated at 11d. by the full-priced Bakers.

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Cwt.

Ware	£6	0	to	7	6
Middlings.....	2	6	—	4	0
Chats	1	6	—	1	9
Common Red..	3	0	—	0	0

BOROUGH.—per Cwt.

Ware	£6	0	to	7	0
Middlings.....	3	0	—	3	6
Chats	2	0	—	2	6
Common Red..	0	0	—	0	0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....	60s.	to	90s.
Straw...	38s.	to	48s.
Clover..	80s.	to	110s.
St. James's.—Hay....	63s.	to	100s.
Straw ..	42s.	to	54s.
Clover..	70s.	to	110s.
Whitechapel.—Hay....	70s.	to	95s.
Straw...	40s.	to	50s.
Clover..	80s.	to	115s.

COAL MARKET, July 1.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

12½ Newcastle..	10½	31s. 6d.	to	38s. 6d.
5 Sunderland..	3½	30s. 0d.	—	36s. 0d.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

	Wheat.			Barley.			Oats.			Beans.			Pease.		
	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.
Aylesbury	74	78	0	38	40	0	28	32	0	40	44	0	40	45	0
Banbury	64	69	0	35	42	0	26	30	0	42	50	0	0	0	0
Basingstoke	66	74	0	0	0	0	24	30	0	42	48	0	0	0	0
Bridport.....	64	72	0	36	37	0	26	26	6	48	0	0	0	0	0
Chelmsford.....	60	74	0	32	36	0	24	31	0	37	42	0	37	39	0
Derby	67	73	0	36	42	0	25	31	0	42	47	0	0	0	0
Devizes.....	56	75	0	33	40	0	22	32	0	40	56	0	0	0	0
Dorchester	48	61	0	32	37	0	24	27	0	40	52	0	0	0	0
Exeter.....	70	76	0	38	42	0	20	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eye	60	68	0	32	40	0	26	30	0	32	40	0	32	38	0
Guildford	60	82	0	35	42	0	23	32	0	40	48	0	39	42	0
Henley	68	79	0	37	0	0	23	29	0	42	50	0	40	45	0
Horncastle.....	56	64	0	30	36	0	16	23	0	38	44	0	0	0	0
Hungerford.....	64	79	0	32	42	0	23	31	0	40	56	0	40	50	0
Lewes	60	69	0	0	0	0	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newbury	60	80	0	36	44	0	23	30	0	42	46	0	40	44	0
Newcastle	56	72	0	32	40	0	21	30	0	36	40	0	36	58	0
Northampton....	68	72	0	39	41	0	23	26	0	39	42	0	0	0	0
Nottingham	67	0	0	42	0	0	26	0	0	45	0	0	0	0	0
Reading	60	83	0	40	44	0	27	33	0	45	50	0	46	48	0
Stamford.....	60	67	0	35	37	0	25	27	0	36	44	0	0	0	0
Stowmarket	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Swansea	72	0	0	40	0	0	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Truro	75	0	0	43	0	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uxbridge	66	88	0	35	40	0	24	32	0	40	45	0	42	44	0
Warminster.....	54	74	0	28	44	0	28	31	0	34	50	0	0	0	0
Winchester.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalkeith*	31	38	0	27	32	6	17	22	0	20	22	0	19	21	0
Haddington*	31	38	0	27	32	6	17	22	0	17	22	0	17	21	0

* Dalkeith and Haddington are given by the *boll*.—The Scotch *boll* for Wheat, Rye, Pease, and Beans, is three per cent. more than 4 bushels. The *boll* of Barley and Oats, is about 6 bushels Winchester, or as 6 to 8 compared with the English *quarter*.

Liverpool, June 28.—The passing of the two new Corn Acts, added to a continuance of good weather, produced a dullness in the Wheat Trade during the past week at a decline of 3*d.* per bushel. For Oats there was a fair demand. At this day's market there was good attendance, when English Wheat being in request, the prices of last Tuesday were fully supported, and the best descriptions of Foreign Wheat brought 10*s.* 3*d.* per bushel, and some very superior English (Red,) obtained 11*s.*

Imported into Liverpool, from the 21st to the 27th June, 1825, inclusive:—Wheat, 7,451; Barley, 775; Oats, 9,104; Malt, 3,920; Beans, 1369; and Pease, 115 quarters. Flour, 1399 sacks, per 280 lbs. Oatmeal, 2091 packs, per 240 lbs. American Flour, 280 barrels.

Norwich, July 2.—The supply of Wheat was very small, and the millers being more eager to purchase, the price was higher one to two shillings per quarter. Red, 58*s.* to 70*s.*, White, 72*s.*; Barley, very little at market, prices 28*s.* to 35*s.*; Oats, 24*s.* to 28*s.*; Beans, 34*s.* to 38*s.*; Pease 34*s.* to 36*s.* per qr.; and Flour, 50*s.* to 53*s.* per sack.

Ipswich, July 2.—We had to-day a very short supply of all Grain. Wheat was 1*s.* to 2*s.* per quarter higher. In other Grain no alteration. Prices as follow:—Wheat, 64*s.* to 72*s.*; Beans, 33*s.* to 40*s.*; and Oats, 24*s.* to 28*s.* per quarter.

Wisbech, July 2.—The supply of Grain here is shorter than of late, and the business done at about the same terms as last week. Red Wheat up to 68*s.*; White ditto, 68*s.* to 70*s.*; and Oats, 20*s.* to 27*s.* per quarter.—Averages:—Wheat, 2159, 3*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*; Oats, 1571, 1*l.* 10*s.*; and Beans, 393, 2*l.*

Boston, June 29.—Wheat coming freely, and the buyers being altogether disinclined to buy any thing but what is in good condition, and that only at a reduction of 2*s.* per quarter; inferior is quite unsaleable. Oats have more buyers this week at a small abatement; the supply small. Beans are much inquired for. No Barley offering from the growers. Wheat, 50*s.* to 65*s.*; Oats, 18*s.* to 26*s.*; Beans, 38*s.* to 48*s.*; Barley, (nominal,) 32*s.* to 38*s.* per quarter.

Wakefield, July 1.—The arrivals for this day's market are small. The reduced stocks of the Millers, together with the small quantities of fine fresh Wheat offering, has enabled the holders to obtain an advance of 1*s.* per qr. on this description; middling sorts sell full as well as last week, but there is scarcely any inquiry for stale chambered qualities. Oats are scarce, and in request at rather more money; but Shelling does not improve in value, and the demand only limited. There is more inquiry for Beans, and dry samples are 1*s.* dearer. No variation to note in other articles.

Malton, July 2.—Our Corn market has been without any degree of variation for some weeks past.—Wheat, 72*s.* to 75*s.* per qr., five stone per bushel; Barley, very little comes to market; prices nominal; Oats, 12*d.* to 13½*d.* per stone.

Hull, July 1.—The supply of Wheat, as well as of all other Grain, has scarcely been sufficient for the consumption of the town, still every branch of the trade rules as dull as possible. Wheat of the best quality sold 1*s.* to 2*s.* per quarter below the currency of Tuesday week. Beans and Oats were each rather cheaper. Flour gave way during last week 3*s.* per bag. Wheat, new, 62*s.* to 67*s.*; Barley, 36*s.* to 38*s.*; Oats, 20*s.* to 24*s.*; Beans, 36*s.* to 39*s.*; and Pease, 35*s.* to 37*s.* per quarter. Flour, fine, 53*s.* to 54*s.*; seconds, 48*s.* to 49*s.* per bag of 20 stone.

Lynn, June 30.—Our market was pretty liberally supplied with Wheat on Tuesday, and the finest samples met ready sale at a reduction of 1*s.* to 2*s.* per qr. Barley in little demand, and very little appeared on our market.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Norwich Castle Meadow, July 2.—The few fat Cattle that appeared to-day, were sold at high prices, 7s. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs. The Store Cattle shewn were in very great numbers of all sorts, the quality not of the best kind. Scots, from 4s. to 5s. per stone when fat; Short Horns, Devons, and Welsh Runts, 3s. to 4s.

Horncastle, July 2.—Beef, 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 7d.; Lamb, 9d.; and Veal, 8d. to 9d. per lb.

Manchester, June 29.—On sale 3431 Sheep, at 5d. to 6½d. per lb. sinking the offal; 400 Cattle, at 4d. to 6½d.; 70 Pigs; 2566 Lambs, at 6d. to 7d.; 20 Calves, at 5d. to 7d.—Total 6496.

At *Morpeth Market*, on Wednesday last, there was but a short supply of Cattle, which sold readily at an advance in price; being a full market of Sheep and Lambs, they met with rather dull sale, at a reduction in price, and part not sold.—Beef, from 7s. 9d. to 8s. 0d.; Mutton, 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d.; Lamb, 7s. 6d. to 8s. 9d. per stone, sinking offal.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended June 25, 1825.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*	73	0	34	11	26	8
Essex	72	5	30	11	25	2
Kent	69	4	35	1	26	8
Sussex	69	6	30	0	27	7
Suffolk	70	9	32	5	26	11
Cambridgeshire	67	8	0	0	20	8
Norfolk	68	6	32	5	25	11
Lincolnshire	66	9	39	0	21	6
Yorkshire	64	8	36	0	22	8
Durham	67	5	0	0	30	1
Northumberland	64	8	37	0	24	9
Cumberland	68	8	37	0	24	6
Westmoreland	72	4	38	0	25	4
Lancashire	68	9	0	0	24	4
Cheshire	70	9	0	0	25	11
Gloucestershire	71	8	43	0	29	0
Somersetshire	71	0	0	0	24	0
Monmouthshire	71	3	43	4	0	0
Devonshire	70	6	38	9	24	0
Cornwall	71	9	40	0	26	5
Dorsetshire	69	9	35	10	30	0
Hampshire	69	0	33	9	21	0
North Wales	69	0	41	9	22	4
South Wales	64	0	39	4	21	0

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.